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M.P.

Labour and War

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VAPOUR TRAILS

TEN years ago, while air battles raged overhead in the clear September air and vapour trails criss-crossed the sky, people huddled in shelters saying: 'Well, we'll never go back to all that'. By 'all that', they meant the Tory foreign policy of the 'thirties which egged the Nazis on to attack the socialist country and socialists everywhere; a policy which ended in a fiasco costing millions of lives—some of them British. People saw 'that' foreign policy coming back on them through their own roofs, and said: 'We're done with them'. This September, vapour trails are again criss-crossing the sky; British pilots are at target practice for bombing the peoples of Malaya, Korea—and where else? People begin, painfully, to think once more. A London woman writes: 'I cannot find words to express my gratitude for your *Labour Monthly* pamphlet *Light on Korea*. It pulled me out of bewilderment, as I am sure it would for thousands of others. Please send copies to the enclosed list of friends of mine'. From Exeter: 'I feel the British public owes you a deep debt of gratitude. Even if we disbelieve the stream of propaganda to which we are constantly exposed, it is not easy to learn the true facts. I am sending it to some of my Conservative friends'. A new reader: 'Please post me another copy by return: I have sent mine to my M.P.' An old reader: 'A splendid effort, quite in the tradition of *Labour Monthly* standards, with which I have long been familiar'. A Northamptonshire teacher: 'Congratulations to *Labour Monthly* and to D. N. Pritt for being so quick off the mark —a really first class political job'. I could fill a whole issue with letters about D. N. Pritt's remarkable pamphlet, of which four reprints have been needed, and about the July and August *Labour Monthly*.

It is good, too, to hear progressive voices from U.S.A. and Canada. From a vigorous 83-years-old on the Pacific seaboard: '*Labour Monthly* is one of the few voices of sanity in an insane world and I rejoice and take heart of hope every time I get a new issue. How to attack the terrible misconceptions which exist? I have a little money to give, and that I do. I can keep my own mind clear, and that I try to do, in which *Labour Monthly* helps me'. From the Eastern seaboard: 'The lesser breeds without the law have taught the U.S. a lesson it took Great Britain a century to achieve! MacArthur is the very archetype of a long line of western generals whom the East has learned to hate—notably in India'. From the South: 'Thanks for a grand fighting magazine. . . You have attained a beautiful balance of a high intellectual level, devoid of sloganeering and pat phrases, and a clear, uncomplicated approach to problems and work confronting us without breast-beating, nationalism, sectarianism or hidden fear'. And the North: 'All words of praise must be used up, and there's nothing new to be said by a jimmy higgins' (i.e., a rank and filer) 'except that L.M. is one of our most valuable sources of information and inspiration. Long life to it!'

A sidelight on the anxiety and anger people are feeling, the realisation that they *must* 'know more than the capitalist press is prepared to tell them', as

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Notes of the Month

Fifth Column in Britain

ON September 12 Parliament is due to meet to ratify the new £3,400 million Arms Programme and other war measures ordered by Washington. This follows on the United States ten billion dollar new Arms Programme, announced by President Truman on July 19, additional to the previous twenty billion dollars, or equivalent in all to £11,000 million for one year. Such is the colossal military sequel wthin a few weeks of launching the invasion against a nation of less than thirty millions in Korea. With lightning speed the true significance of the United States assault on Korea is being revealed as the preparation of world war.

Hell Let Loose

Last month we wrote:

> The Second World War developed from the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, which was the preliminary to the offensive against all East Asia. So today the instigators of a Third World War have begun with the invasion of Korea and aggression against Formosa as a preliminary to declared offensive aims against all East Asia.

No one pretends that President Truman's ten billion dollar new Arms Programme is directed merely to thwart the blood-curdling

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menace of Korean Independence. No one pretends that Premier Attlee's £3,400 million Arms Programme is a last desperate attempt to save these shores from the overhanging threat of invasion by the terrible Koreans. It is world war that is being prepared. The Yahoos of dying imperialism are running amok. From the massacre of women and children and the bombing of hospitals in Korea, to the murder of the most honoured leader of the working class in Belgium, and the neurotic screams for the Atom Bomb from Tory and Labour M.P.s in Britain, the Glory of the Gangster—the old Skull and Cross-bones Emblem of Hitler—is being proclaimed anew to threaten humanity with death and devastation. It is world war that is being prepared—a war in which Britain is scheduled to be the main cock-pit and the victim.

The Enemy Within

How is Britain, and the British people, who want peace, being dragged into this criminal war—into war on the side of the aggressor, on the side of everything that is corrupt and rotten throughout the world, on the side of Franco and Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek, of Greek Fascism and the released Nazi War Criminals, of Manteuffel and Graziani, against socialism and freedom? The ex-liberal columnist Cummings writes in bewilderment (*News Chronicle*, August 15):

> We live in a topsy-turvy world in which, under the stress of harsh events, democratic politicians are discussing seriously such questions as re-arming Germans, so recently our deadly enemies, and even bringing Franco's Spain into the framework of Western defence.

No, Mr. Cummings, it is not the world that is ' topsy-turvy ', but its reflection in your own head; it is you and others like you who have made the somersault. It is the same fight for human freedom that goes forward, with ever increasing range and strength, against fascism in the thirties and the second world war, against the cold war and atom bomb maniacs in the late forties, and now against the new wars of aggression and a third world war. But the enemy has penetrated deep into the defences of Britain, even deeper than in the Munichite degradation of Chamberlain and Hoare, has fastened his tentacles on the high places of political control, on the machines of the Tory and Labour and Liberal Parties, on the entire subsidised commercial press. Premier Attlee in his broadcast to the nation dared to warn against ' the enemy within '. He evidently believed in the old adage that the Thief who cries ' Stop Thief ' will ensure his own immunity. But there will be no immunity for the Guilty Men

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who are dragging Britain into the destruction of a third world war. To find 'the enemy within', do not look down below. Look to the top.

Mechanism of Treason

The political mechanism by which Britain is being dragged into this war is worthy of remark even in the present period of humiliation of Britain under a clique maintained in power by American dollars in return for subservience to American orders. On July 26-27, the House of Commons held a two-day debate on 'defence' and approved the plan to increase arms expenditure by £100 million. Parliament then adjourned and went into recess for close on three months. The approval of the increase by £100 million, after a full debate, was in effect the last decision of parliament before adjourning. The innocent might have thought that this settled the matter for the time being, and that the Cabinet would carry out the instructions of parliament. The innocent would have been out of date in their understanding of the present British Constitution. On July 26 the United States Government dispatched peremptory instructions to the British Government to produce a higher figure. The British Government hastened to obey. On August 3 the Government announced, *not to parliament, nor to the British people, but in a Memorandum to the United States Government,* in a Memorandum handed to the U.S. Ambassador in London for transmission to Washington, the decision to pursue the new £3,400 million Arms Programme—the most important and crucial decision for Britain's future since the previous decision two years ago to accept the permanent stationing of American atom bombers on British soil for the purpose of bombing the Soviet Union (a decision which equally was never submitted to parliament or even divulged to parliament). *The British people learned of their fate indirectly through the publication of the Memorandum to the United States.* The real relations of power over Britain were revealed.

By Whose Orders?

This time there is no concealment of the Orders from Washington. *The Times* on August 4—anniversary of the fateful day, 36 years ago, when a still independent Britain declared war on Germany and set the spark to the fuse for the future downfall of its imperialist power—recorded in terms which might have been puzzling to that Cabinet of 1914 the satellite obedience of 1950:

In response to the American request . . . the Cabinet have now agreed

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a provisional three-year programme which involves a much bigger increase in defence expenditure than was at first contemplated.

The *Manchester Guardian* of August 18 lamented—a little late in the day—the end of Britain's independence:

> It is time that it should be said quite frankly that the Government is giving the impression that it is content to play second (or third, if there is one) fiddle to the United States and has no mind of its own.

From Tokio General MacArthur cracked the whip in the face of the British vassal who had ventured to submit humble remonstrances over the menace of the bellicose MacArthur-Chiang proclamations in Formosa, and who received the traditional 'Tremble and Obey' reply:

> It is inconceivable that the British Government would attempt to arrogate to itself, under the guise of membership in the United Nations, the slightest warrant or judgment on the propriety of the mission of an American officer in compliance with the order of his own Government.

The Times of August 15 added the rueful comment of One Who Gets Slapped:

> Allied headquarters in Tokio does not show itself to be receptive on fundamental issues to any views which differ from its own. The British political representative has been unable to see General MacArthur for many weeks.

Moloch remains unappeased and demands the odour of more sacrificial victims:

> America's Atlantic Pact Chief, Charles Spofford, is flying to London on Saturday to tell the British Government that Washington is not satisfied with what is being called 'Britain's leisurely rearmament'. (*Daily Express*, August 18.)

The New Political Vocabulary

Since the term 'Fifth Column' is now being freely bandied about by the traitors, quislings and war camp in order to divert attention from their own crimes and transfer the attack against those who can neither be bribed nor cowed, it is necessary to demand a little accuracy in the use of terms. The new Truman-MacArthur-Attlee-Churchill Axis, like the old Hitler-Mussolini-Hirohito Axis, seeks to turn the political vocabulary upside down. Just as the Nazis termed the French patriots 'bandits' and 'terrorists', and the French traitors and Vichy quislings 'loyal'; just as the Japanese militarists denounced as 'bandits' and 'terrorists' the Malayan and Vietnamese patriots who fought as our allies, and acclaimed the dictator Marshal Pibul Songgram of Thailand as a 'staunch ally' and 'guardian of order and civilisation'; so now the new Anglo-

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American Axis denounces as ' bandits ' and ' terrorists ' the same Malayan and Vietnamese patriots who fought as our allies, and acclaims the same Marshal Songgram as a ' staunch ally ' and 'guardian of order and civilisation'; and similarly denounces as ' the enemy within ' those who stand for national independence and for peace. Just as Hitler called his anti-Soviet empire of Western and Central Europe ' United Europe ', so his slavish disciples at Strasbourg call their partition of Europe (an anti-Soviet bloc of Western Europe and a puppet Western Germany) for the resumption of Hitler's war ' United Europe '. Just as Japan called its extension of economic and military domination in Eastern Asia by the sweet name of ' Eastern Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere ', so Wall Street and the Pentagon call their extension of domination in Western Europe by the sweet name of ' European Recovery Programme '. Just as Japan called its military offensive in Manchuria ' not a war ', but a ' police action ', so President Truman calls his military offensive in Korea ' not a war ', but a ' police operation '. The Koreans who fight on their own soil in defence of their homeland against cruel and barbarous invaders are termed ' aggressors '. The American invaders who, unable to conquer in the field, resort to all the methods of frightfulness by sea and air to reduce towns and villages, schools and hospitals, babies, the sick and the aged to bloodstained rubble, are declared to be acting in ' self-defence '. The same distortion of language is now applied to the typical fascist term ' Fifth Column '.

The Real Fifth Column

What is the ' Fifth Column '? The term ' Fifth Column ' was first coined by the fascist General Mola with reference to his advance against Madrid during the Axis invasion of Spain and war against Spanish Democracy. General Mola declared that he had five columns for his assault against Democratic Madrid: four military columns of his army, and a ' Fifth Column ', consisting of all the fascist and pro-fascist reactionaries inside Madrid, the monarchist anti-democratic anti-Communist high society scum and their hangers-on, and Right-Wing Social Democratic collaborators, who hated People's Democracy and Communism, and who were working as traitors and rats from inside to betray Spanish Democracy to the foreign military occupation of the Axis in the name of the sacred anti-Communist and anti-Soviet crusade. This was the historic ' Fifth Column '. The true parallel today is sufficiently evident. The Fifth Column must always be sought among the enemies of Communism, never on the Left. The Fifth Column will always be found among

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the upper classes, and their Right-Wing Social Democratic collaborators, never among the common people. Who are the faithful fuglemen of American imperialist penetration in Britain today? Who are the most violent protagonists of the American-led anti-Communist and anti-Soviet crusade? Who have betrayed Britain to American economic domination? Who have betrayed Britain to American military occupation? In the answer to these questions will be found the key to the Fifth Column in Britain.

The Lie of "Defence"

The nation is being asked to accept a colossal and unprecedented Arms Programme, never before approached in Britain in peacetime, the still further extension of the armed services beyond the one and a-half million already directly and indirectly involved, the prolongation of the term of conscription to two years, the imposition of strategic commitments which point straight to world war—in the name of what? In the name of 'defence'? There was never a greater falsehood. It is not 'defence' that is straining British resources and man-power all over the world. If the Soviet Union were to spread its armed forces over the world to one twentieth the extent that Britain and the United States do, not a single British journalist or diplomat would call it 'defence'. Mr. Attlee had to admit in his broadcast on July 30:

> We ourselves have to keep forces in various parts of the world, garrisoning key points such as *Hong Kong* or the *Middle East*, forming part of the occupation forces in Germany, Austria and *Trieste*, or engaged in actual fighting against Communist banditry in *Malaya*. *Therefore* our military forces are stretched.

When British troops are sent thousands of miles across the oceans to invade the territories and burn down the homes of the Malayan or Korean peoples, who only ask to be left alone in peace in possession of their own countries, no casuistry on earth can turn this into 'defence'. This is offensive, aggressive war. These are world military commitments. *It is offensive world war that is being prepared.*

Lie of "Soviet Menace"

Is it against the hypothetical menace of 'Soviet aggression'? But the Soviet Union is the only Great Power which is not at war; which is not invading other countries; which does not assert the right, beloved of the bellicose Mr. Attlee, 'to keep forces in various parts of the world'; which obstinately refuses to be drawn into war by the provocations of the alliance of warmaking Great Powers; which cam-

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paigns untiringly for peace; which campaigns ceaselessly for disarmament; and which is roundly denounced by the other warmaking Great Powers for its 'peace offensives'. Walter Lippmann made recently the revealing admission:

> Always it is necessary for the West to do the fighting itself. Never yet has it been necessary for the Russians to do that. This is on many counts a profoundly disturbing contrast between the Soviet and the Western position in Asia.
>
> (Walter Lippmann, *New York Herald Tribune*, June 29, 1950.)

This contrast is not merely 'disturbing'; it is enlightening, to anyone with a grain of political sense, as to who stands for war and who stands for peace. It is not in the Soviet Union that 'peace' has become a subversive word, and campaigning for peace an activity to be met with bans and denunciations. The spectacle of the warmaking Western Powers, who send their expeditionary armies, warships and bomber fleets thousands of miles across the seas to bring massacre and devastation to other peoples, loudly proclaiming with crocodile tears that all their wars and aggressions are compelled by a nightmare fear of a hypothetical theory of a future Soviet aggression which has not happened, is a spectacle worthy of a comic cartoonist—or of a Low, if the Low of the thirties were still alive. Or rather, it is a spectacle worthy of Hitler at his apogee, explaining his wars and aggressions as compelled in 'self defence' against the 'Bolshevik menace'.

Is It "War on Communism"?

Every political and military observer, even the most hostile, admits that the Soviet Union wants peace, and that its interests coincide with peace. Indeed, the military commentators frequently note that this is the peculiar character of the problem—that, as they put it, 'the Soviet Union achieves its aims without war', by which they mean that Communism advances over the world by the struggle of the people for emancipation within each country, without the Soviet armies firing a shot. Hence the franker apologists of the Western war camp openly proclaim that the aim of their war is against 'Communism', against 'Communist aggression'. 'We are already at war with Communism', they declare. President Truman in his War Manifesto of June 27, justifying his war measures against Korea, Formosa, the Philippines and Vietnam, could not even refer to the Soviet Union, because the Soviet Union was not at war; he declared that his war measures were being taken against 'Commun-

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ist aggression '. On this the more cautious *Observer* (August 20) pertinently notes:

> It is sometimes said that we are already at war with world Communism. This is a very loose way of speaking about a subject where accuracy matters. ' War ' is a precisely definable state of affairs, and we are definitely not at war (*sic*). If we should one day have to go to war, we would not be at war with any ' 'ism ', but with a foreign State or States.

The war which the Western war camp is preparing would undoubtedly be proclaimed as a Holy War against Communism. But it would be in fact a war against nations, peoples and States. It would be a war against the struggle of the working people in every country, against the struggle of the colonial peoples for freedom, a war to turn back the century-old advance of Communism. This is the real ' menace ' they fear, and not the pretended menace of ' Soviet aggression '. Against this they prepare their offensive war of the new Holy Alliance of the Atlantic Pact. But this means literally and exactly to resurrect the old Anti-Comintern Pact of Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito. The fate of that ' crusade ' is known—and the forces of the peoples are immeasurably stronger today. Do the Churchills, Shinwells and Dulles, the Montgomerys, Bradleys and MacArthurs really imagine that, where the Horthys, Kolchaks and Denikins, the Hitlers, Goerings and Tojos, the Rundstedts and Jodls, ended in ignominious fiasco, they can expect a different outcome? Or do the Western peoples want to enter on this Dance of Death?

Painted Panic

When the Churchills and Shinwells paint lurid pictures of an overwhelming superiority of Soviet divisions and tanks pouring over the frontiers to ' overrun Europe and Asia ', they are consciously and deliberately deceiving the people in order to cover up their own real offensive aims—aims which Churchill has consistently and openly proclaimed since 1917 and never disclaimed. Why should the Soviet Union want to ' overrun Europe and Asia '? From some insanity of lust of empire, desire to conquer other nations or theory of exporting Communism by force? The Paint-the-Map-Red jingoes of imperialism—Boer War Churchill and Malaya War Shinwell—are attributing their own motives and psychology and megalomaniac lunacy to Communists, who are not quite so foolish as all that. These infantile conceptions are all contrary to Communist theory; and Communist States have a way of acting according to Communist theory—a fact which Western statesmen have frequently ignored to their cost.

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Choice of Peace or War

But if the philistines and jingoes at the head of Western imperialism are incapable of understanding Communist theory, they should at least be capable of understanding the common sense of self-interest. War is not in the interests of the Soviet Union, which is engaged in tasks of peace and reconstruction on a scale no human society has ever touched. Certainly if the Western imperialists let loose war, the Soviet Union will be found prepared, and that war will be fought beyond the frontiers of the Soviet Union—that is an elementary military maxim. If the Western imperialists let loose war, all the peoples of Europe will no less certainly rise and destroy the Guilty Men responsible. The war would not end according to the blueprints of its planners. But the choice of peace or war is the choice of the West. The interest of the Soviet Union is peace. The interest of Communism is peace. Every year and month of peace increases the relative strength of the Soviet Union in the world. Every year and month of peace increases the strength of Communism in the world. The leaders of Western imperialism know this. That is why they are choosing war. The same madness which trapped Hitler in 1941 is now assailing them.

Strategy of Insanity

Before the fever of war frenzy swamps all reason, let us ask a few concrete practical questions. What war is being prepared? Against what enemy? Against the Soviet Union? Or against Communism all over the world? With what forces? Where are the fronts? What is the strategy? What is the war aim? Over all these concrete questions complete confusion of incoherence reigns in the war camp. Planning Committees, Joint Staff Committees, Co-ordinating Committees, Brussels Pact Councils, Atlantic Pact Councils, Fontainebleau headquarters, Washington headquarters, Tokio headquarters proliferate without end. Scores of billions of dollars are poured out like water. Armaments of every shape, size and description are piled up. New magical weapons and horrific methods of super-Nazi mass murder and civilian extermination are exultantly described. And in the end a minute local war of the Grand Alliance against a small Asiatic country bungs up the whole machine, and culminates after six weeks in screaming shrieks for help from General MacArthur. The apologists of Defence Secretary Johnson, who had boasted just before launching war on Korea that the armed services were equipped and ready to the last button (to be up to date, this should read, to the last press-button), now explain that he was all set and ready

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for war with the Russians, but not with the Koreans. The untutored man in the street in America and Western Europe may be excused for querying, if the Grand Alliance is so hard put to it to deal with a tiny country with one fifteenth the population of China, what are the prospects for the more grandiose aims dinned at him daily by his bellicose publicists and broadcasters to take on also China, South East Asia, the People's Democracies of Europe and the Soviet Union?

Paper Divisions

Mr. Churchill complained at Strasbourg that after two years of 'imposing conferences' of military chiefs of Western Europe the resoundingly boosted Western Union Pact had only produced a 'pretentious façade'. What are the plans for the war of Western Europe against socialism and national freedom? Which is to be the front? The Elbe? Or the Rhine? Or the Pyrenees? Or the more ambitious plans of the Conservative Election Manifesto to reconquer Eastern Europe? How many divisions are required? Thirty? Sixty? Ninety? The figures are juggled about with bewildering variety in the estimates of the military experts like conjurors' balls. In the leading American military magazine, the *Military Review*, in its March issue, Lieut.-Colonel F. O. Miksche outstrips them all and proves that one hundred and fifty divisions will be essential in Western Europe, of which one hundred and seven are presumed to come from France, Italy and Benelux (existing available divisions—eight). France is already tied up in Vietnam, Britain in Malaya, Holland in Indonesia. No wonder the Churchills and Reynauds look with greedy eyes to the mirage of vast revived Nazi German armies to constitute a 'European Army'. They are thinking with nostalgic longing of the Hitler Armies. They have forgotten that these armies were annihilated on the Eastern Front, that five years is too short a time for their revival, and that, apart from the handful of ex-Nazi desperadoes, the German people have no wish to be drawn again into the holocaust. Still less will the French and Italian peoples allow themselves to be made the pawns of an American war for Western capitalism against socialism.

Ghost Armies

Max Werner, the only military publicist of the West whose predictions were proved correct in the second world war, writes of the plans for Nazi rearmament:

In his book *Hitler as Commander-in-Chief*, General Halder states, first,

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that the rout of the German army was an *absolute defeat* sapping the roots of Germany's potential military strength for good. He stresses that the German first-line battle-tested divisions were burned out already before Stalingrad. What followed was annihilation of the German military power to the last reserve. In the East as in the West the Wehrmacht was burned to ashes as no army in military history.

General Halder furthermore stresses the superiority of the Soviet army, both in material power and in the quality of warfare. He confesses without bias that the Wehrmacht was beaten in the East, according to the best rules of modern strategy, was outfought and outmanœuvred, while itself clinging to the outdated positional warfare. (*National Guardian*, April 19, 1950.)

On the American semi-official military estimates for the Atlantic Pact forces in Western Europe he further writes:

Thus, according to this chart, about six sevenths of the Atlantic Bloc forces will have to be supplied by the German, French, Italian and Benelux armies, the ghostlike array of the defeated and disintegrated armies of World War II.

'Fighting with Ghosts' is his cutting comment on these plans. In truth *the ghosts of the old dying order, the Churchills, Attlees and Reynauds, are fighting with ghost armies.*

Man-Power! More Man-Power!

On every side in the Western war camp the voracious cry goes up for more man-power, more divisions, more armies, more conscription, more cannon-fodder. All the preceding armchair illusions of press-button warfare, of the magical, colossal, billion-dollar mechanised superman dictating his will to the trembling millions, have vanished into thin air in the first harsh testing of real warfare in Korea. 'More Ground Forces! Send Ground Forces!' is the ceaseless clamour of MacArthur. 'More American divisions for Western Europe!' is the counter-cry of the Western European Powers. With an anxious eye on the dollars, the Western European Powers answer 'Coming! Coming!' to MacArthur, with such conspicuous celerity that even Turkey and Thailand, those notorious strongholds of 'democracy', outstrip them. But Britain has bogged down half its mobile expeditionary forces in Malaya. 'Malaya is more important to us than Korea', growls Field-Marshal Slim. France has bogged down more than half its mobile expeditionary forces in Vietnam. The United States has had to deplete its Japanese occupation forces for Korea.

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Clay-Feet Colossus

These bloated almighty Empires, sprawling over half the world, boasting of their hundreds of millions of subjects and illimitable resources, and swaggering in the arrogance of their racial superiority, have proved less effective in the harsh test of practice, even in the first encounter with secondary representatives of the Democratic World. Wherein lies this weakness? What has happened to the pipe-dreams of the bellicose publicists and experts of the Western Powers who proved on paper their invincible might and destiny of world domination, their swelling bank balances, their infinite material resources, their miraculous new weapons of destruction, their roll-call of 'ninety per cent. of the nations of the world' at Lake Success through the trembling lips and obedient votes of dollar-fed satellites? *They remembered everything—except the most important. They forgot one thing—people.* They forgot that wars are fought and decided in the end by people, and that people will only fight and die for what they believe in, and not for the American millionaires. They are learning it now.

The People's Cause is Invincible

The Korean People's Army are fighting against unspeakable hardships and odds, assailed by land, sea and air—their towns and their villages, the work of their hands, their homes and their families battered and massacred by a barbarous enemy. But they are fighting on their own soil. They are fighting among their own people. They are fighting for their own land, for their freedom, for their future. The American imperialists have to fight with highly paid expensively maintained imported troops and with unstable subsidised puppets. So, too, the Chinese people defeated Chiang Kai-shek, for all his six billion dollars of foreign subsidies and arms. So with the fight of the people of Vietnam, of Malaya. Always the imperialists have to fight with imported troops and commanders and subsidised puppets. Listen to the lamentation of Walter Lippmann:

> In the disputed area—China, Korea, Formosa, Indochina, Malaya—Soviet influence and power have expanded without the armed forces of the U.S.S.R. being committed. On the other hand, nowhere on the mainland of East Asia has Communism been contained except by committing French, British or American forces.

Or the *Daily Telegraph* on June 27 of this year:

> Asian Communism gains strength from leadership; its standard-bearers are all Asian. . . The leadership and the principal weapons for fighting

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Communism come from the West because they are not otherwise available.

The Communist forces are led by able men like Mao Tse-tung and Chou En Lai in China, by the veteran Ho Chi Minh in Indochina. . .

Not Asians, but General Douglas MacArthur, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, and France's High Commissioner in Indochina, M. Pignon, are the key figures in the anti-Communist front.

That truth in the end not only applies to Asia. The American Fifth Column may control the dollar-subsidised Governments of Western Europe. But does anyone any longer believe that the French people or the Italian people will fight in a war of the American millionaires against socialism? In the face of the chorus of denunciation, one million have signed the Peace Petition in Britain. The British people, tricked and deceived by a lying press and a swindling leadership, will yet find their way to common cause with the peoples of France and Italy, with the peoples of Europe, for peace and the freedom of their country.

Atomic War Frenzy

Therefore the imperialists, reading already the signs of their doom in the portent of Korea, turn now openly to the Atom Bomb and to the open proclamation of atomic war, and of the utilisation of every weapon of frightfulness against the peoples, as their one last morbid hope of salvation. Vanished are the days when they hypocritically pretended to desire the banning of the atom bomb as an inhuman weapon, and professed that only their objections to the details of the Soviet plan for its banning and for international inspection stood in the way. The Baruch Plan has served its purpose as a pretext for obstruction, and passes out of the picture. Now they denounce any proposal for banning the Atom Bomb as a 'Soviet trick' to rob the Western Powers of their principal weapon. Thereby they reveal themselves as liars and hypocrites in all their previous pretences of desiring to ban it. The comedy is ended. The masks are off. The issue is no longer on the technicalities of banning the atom bomb. The issue is between those who stand for banning the atom bomb and those who desire to use it. The Western Powers have made the Atom Bomb their fitting emblem, as Hitler made the skull and cross-bones. Despairing of the future, dreaming only of death and devastation on an ever vaster scale, the lords of imperialism now direct their final ambition to drag down scores of millions with them to their doom, and to leave the earth a human cemetery before they pass from the scene. It is to avert this outcome that the peoples need now to intensify their efforts for peace before it is too late.

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Death Over Britain

What this prospect means for Britain must be made clear to every man, woman and child. A recent United States Gallup poll showed 61 per cent. for using the atom bomb in a future war, irrespective of whether it is used or not on the other side, as well as an additional 13 per cent. for using it if it is used on the other side. Those 61 per cent. are still taught to think in terms of comfortably using the atom bomb on other nations from Britain as the American base, while Britain takes the punishment. On the other hand, when Duff Cooper in the *Daily Mail* advocated the use of the atom bomb, 57 per cent. of the Conservative *Daily Mail* readers who participated in the ensuing controversy declared against it. The difference between these two results reveals the alarm even among British Conservatives over the American strategic plan, rubber-stamped by the Churchill-Attlee Fifth Column, to use Britain as the American Atom Bomber base. Already the press announces decisions to enlarge tenfold the number of American Atom Bomber bases in Britain:

> A large number of Britain's wartime bomber airfields are to be reopened. They would provide bases for about 1,000 American aircraft which might be stationed here. . . 1,000 would require at least 30 large airfields. At present Americans occupy three bomber stations in Britain.
>
> Some of these already exist, but would require extensive rebuilding. Instructions have been given to extend them for use by the largest bomber now in service, the Super-Fortress. (*Daily Herald*, August 21, 1950.)

The menace is drawing very close.

The Fight to Save Britain

This is no time for illusions. If Britain is so used, if Britain is made the American Atom Bomber base against Europe, then Britain will be necessarily and inevitably and justifiably and correctly the principal military target in the war which is being planned. *If the British people do not act in time, if they allow their island to become the criminal base and source for the death and destruction of scores of millions in Europe, then that base will have to be, and will be, utterly and absolutely destroyed.* In the final conclusion of such atomic war the rest of the world, though stricken, will survive. But what will be left of Britain? What is left of Britain may become a devastated, uninhabitable radio-active ruin, ringed round with warning buoys for mariners: 'Danger! Do Not Approach! Unfit for Human Occupation!' That might be in a certain sense an ultimate 'solution' of the problem of Britain in the world. The ending

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of the old pirates' nest might leave the world a more peaceful place. But it would be a regrettable end for a people who have also contributed greatly to civilisation, and who have still a great contribution to make, and whose main fault today is only that they are too patient, long-suffering and trustful in a set of unmitigated scoundrels and swindlers as their rulers. The Fifth Column in Britain must be exposed and defeated, before the Fifth Column destroys Britain.

August 21, 1950. R.P.D.

Cold Warrior

O paramount the act
That bleeds the hypocrite
Of half a word.

Peace, they say,
And steal the world to
Brute atomic breasts
And pipe-clay prayers.

We blast, they cry,
And Asian hairbrains
Quiver,
Calling forth the costumed dolls,
The antic quick,
The Gissimos corrupt.

World! World!
Is this their Demos
Of the Western way—
That lust in belly-bombs
Is *pac*-ific
And Free?

They must be ape Gods,
Not yet historied;
Not half the brute
Nor half the man, but
Tinklers;
Small hatted;
Gold and silver swarms;
Ignorants on dural wings.
They master by the puff of smoke,
The thumb release,
The unthought flicking wrist.

Listen America:
Death is a braggart
In their apple-pie hands, and
Liberty is beggared
At their milk-fed lips.

JAMES
ALDRIDGE

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LABOUR AND WAR

S. O. DAVIES, M.P.

THE newspapers are screaming their headlines about Korea. Their writers are, many of them, trying to stir up a war fever, are serving their readers with the drug that maddens and drives men and women to self-destruction. But the people of this country, so far, are not screaming for war. On the contrary, they are very troubled about this Korean business. They are concerned also that it might lead to a third world war. But above all they, or the workers in the Labour Party, are concerned that the Labour Government seems in agreement with the policy not only of Churchill, but of the recklessly anti-socialist rulers of the United States. Those who remember the old fight of the Labour movement against war are most concerned of all. For it looks as if that old fight for peace had been abandoned.

What was this Labour standpoint on war? They denounced it. They tried to prevent it. They fought for peace and against armaments. From the earliest times I can remember the finest spirits in the Labour movement were ever in the forefront of the fight for peace. Nor were they talkers against war in peacetime and supporters of their government when war broke out, like so many capitalist politicians who mouthed about peace when preparing war. On the contrary, they fought against wars in wartime, to prevent them spreading and to bring them to an end.

Fifty years ago this country was plunged into a disgraceful war in South Africa for benefit of the millionaires who owned part of the riches of that country, as Yankee millionaires today own nearly a third of the capitalist assets in the south of Korea. Keir Hardie, the founder of the Labour Party, voiced the deepest feelings of the Labour movement when he denounced that war, when he wrote:

> The war is a Capitalists' war, begotten by Capitalists' money, lied into being by a perjured mercenary Capitalist press, and fathered by unscrupulous politicians, themselves the merest tools of the Capitalists. . .

In particular he gave a warning about the capitalist press which all should remember today:

> . . . practically the entire press of the country, dominated and owned as it generally is by speculators, has disgraced itself by misrepresentations and abuse concerning the Boers. For a time the nation refused to believe that war was possible, but as cooked reports and distorted statements appeared from the press, morning, noon and night for months on end, the poor be-

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wildered people at length were duped into believing that there was a real cause for the war. . .

It was in the course of this campaign for peace that Keir Hardie stood for and won this constituency of Merthyr Tydfil, for which I now sit in the House of Commons. I am proud to think that in Merthyr Tydfil at any rate we are remaining true to the old fight for peace and against being dragged into war.

But it was not only the socialists like Keir Hardie in those days who fought against war. In Trade Unions like the Miners' Federation there were in those days old Liberal leaders who never hesitated to fight against war, and both the Miners' Federation and the International Miners' Congress were eloquent in their opposition to war, no matter under what pretext governments might move to hostilities.

Forty years ago to a day from the moment I am writing these words the International Miners' Congress carried a resolution for Universal Peace, moved by old Tom Burt, M.P., who said:

> We profess in England, I do not know whether they do on the Continent, we profess to be a Christian nation, and we think we are civilised, but we are not civilised so long as so much wealth and intellect is given to the cult of armaments. I feel what has been said before, that this movement is a peace movement. The miners have taken the initiative and nearly all other trades have followed our example, and the more we get to know of each other the more thoroughly we shall recognise we are brothers, and that we ought not to enter into disastrous conflicts with each other.

Not only the Miners' International, but the whole Socialist International Congress (which included the Labour Party) were very outspoken on this matter. Again and again the policy was laid down (and subscribed to by the leaders of the Labour Party) that it was the duty of the working-class *and* its organisations *and* its parliamentary representatives to do their utmost to prevent war. Then the great resolution on war which we repeated three times (at Stuttgart in 1907, at Copenhagen in 1910 and at Basle in 1912) and which was binding on *all* socialist parties, went on to say what should be done if war broke out. It said that "if in spite of their efforts" war should nevertheless break out, it was the duty of the working-class and their parliamentary representatives to oppose their governments, to intervene to bring it quickly to a close and to use the crisis arising from war to hasten the downfall of capitalist domination.

When the first world war, prepared by the governments and the capitalist parties, broke out in 1914, I had been elected checkweigher and was in a position to know how the miners felt about it. There were many of us in South Wales then who did our best

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to remain true to the teachings of socialism. I remember how, a little while before he died, heart-broken, Keir Hardie came down to Merthyr: and I remember how that great spirit E. D. Morel mercilessly exposed the lies that were spread to set one nation against another, how both before and after the outbreak of war he laid bare the machinations of the capitalists, whether in Europe or America. He also was true to the fight against war. It is my earnest hope that once again, and not only in South Wales, there will be many who will remain true to the old principles of socialism and will do whatever in them lies to prevent a third world war.

With that background freshly in mind it should not be difficult for any worker in the Labour Party to decide what should be the policy on Korea. Certainly, it was clear enough to me—which was why I moved my amendment* in the House of Commons debate. Here, if ever, was a case where a people, for forty years oppressed by Japanese militarism and fascism, was rightly struggling to be free. North and South, the Koreans are one people—just as in North Wales and South Wales, we are one people. No artificial five-year-old boundary from Borth, Aberystwyth to where Robert Owen was born in Newtown could make us all of a sudden into two peoples. Therefore the whole people of Korea were eager and impatient to govern themselves and to get rid of this artificial and meaningless border-line. But there was one obstacle, the soulless and tyrannical régime of Syngman Rhee—and behind him General MacArthur who has become a sort of Mikado in Japan and the Far East. These two men are largely responsible for what happened. As I said in the House of Commons:

> Our Government—I say this with profound regret—have aligned themselves on the side of what is very well known to be the corrupt régime of Syngman Rhee and his immediate associates and advisers, with black marketeers, and with collaborators from the days of Japanese occupation and during the last war. This régime has a venal police force reminiscent of Hitler's Blackshirts. That is the crowd—not the people and not the nation—with which this Socialist Government are asked to identify themselves

*House of Commons debate—July 5, 1950. Mr. S. O. Davies (Merthyr Tydfil) moved: 'That this House expresses its deep concern at the alarming situation in Korea, and recognises the possibility of another world conflict arising therefrom. It, therefore, calls upon the Government to withdraw all British naval forces from the affected area; to give, in accordance with the decisions of the Cairo Conference in 1943, and the Moscow Conference in 1945, full recognition to the claim of the Korean people for the unification and independence of their country; to repudiate all British commitments which involve on our part any obligations to maintain the present division of the nations of the world into two powerful and dangerously poised hostile groups, and to declare in conformity with the Government's socialist principles our determination to give every encouragement to all peoples aspiring for freedom and self-government'.

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and to plunge this country into war to sustain and maintain a rotten régime of that kind.

Now some think that all this does not matter. If anyone protests against British boys being sent 'to die for Syngman Rhee', they would reply that it is not so and that they are being sent 'to die for the United Nations'. But is this really the case? The Charter of the United Nations was drawn up with extreme care, so as to prevent any scandalous misuse of the vast aggregation of force that is represented by over fifty nations. In the matter of war, the rules laid it down that there must be, to begin with, concurrent agreement of the five named great powers (Britain, China, France, U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.) before there was any decision. If any one of these does not agree, then there is no valid decision. If a vote be taken in violation of the rules, then that vote is invalid. Those passing it are not the United Nations but simply private persons pretending to be the United Nations. No one can own any allegiance to such a group of persons: no one can be sent to die because of them.

What then follows? I would not wish to enter into legal quibbles about this business: and I mention them only because the Tories and nearly all the capitalist press have been concealing from the people that there exist grave doubts about the legality and validity of decisions this year at Lake Success. But there are some definite questions on which an answer has to be given.

1. Was North Korea invited, in accordance with the Charter, to appear before the Security Council before the war-like intervention of the United States Army and Navy? If not, is the decision valid?

2. Was the declared open aggression of the U.S. government on the Chinese territory of Formosa raised in the Security Council? If not, is the Security Council acting in accordance with the Charter, or is it simply knuckling under to the U.S.A.?

3. Does the refusal of the U.S.A. (and its satellites) to allow the People's Republic of China to take its seat on the Security Council render invalid the decisions, not only of the last week of June, but of all the previous five months of 1950?

4. Does the withdrawal of the U.S.S.R., in protest against the U.S.A. treatment of China, render invalid any decisions on war and peace taken in its absence?

Whatever legal arguments be used to answer these questions, they have only to be posed for it to become clear that for these last six months the moral authority of the United Nations has been completely undermined.

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The responsibility for all this situation rests squarely upon the government of the United States of America. Therefore, if we revert to the earlier argument, it becomes clear that the answer is ' to die for Commander-in-Chief MacArthur and the U.S.A.' I referred in the House of Commons to ' the hysteria which exists among American leaders, the deliberate, grotesque persecution of outstanding Americans, their fantastic doings in the guise of uprooting un-American activities, and the terribly dangerous megalomania of such people in whose possession are the most horribly destructive weapons which have ever cursed this world of ours '. It is this hysteria and megalomania which has gripped these people that has led to the prolongation of the war in Korea, and unless it is stopped, may whelm mankind in a third world war.

All this is known to millions of working men and women in our country. From the never-ending stream of letters and messages that I have received in past weeks, it is clear that the profoundest feelings, not only of the Labour movement but of the whole British people are utterly opposed to war. It only requires such profound feeling to be set in motion in the form of a united campaign for peace for the desires of millions to be made effective. But that desire must be expressed, not only in letters to me or in the signing of Peace Petitions, but in every form of activity that would unify our movement once more in a fight for peace. We have the example on the one hand of Churchill, who in 1900 was rejoicing in war, as I said in the House of Commons he was rejoicing today. We have on the other hand, the splendid example of Keir Hardie, who in 1900 was opposing the war as he did to the end of his life. If we march in line with our forefathers who built up the movement in the fight against capitalist wars, we shall be marching in the right direction.

But when our Movement abandons that fight; when we allow ourselves to be drawn to support, as apparently we do today, the rabid, blatant imperialism of America; when, that is to say, we give up our historic task and align ourselves alongside our long recognised class enemy, we betray everything dear to all socialists, the countless acts of sacrifices, the devoted selfless work of millions, that form the very matrix of our Movement. We are, in fact, moving along the road to its complete extinction.

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WHITHER UNO?

QUÆSTOR

THERE is a legend that, up to 1939, the 'Western Democracies' could never make up their minds to take action against aggression, and that this was how the Second World War came about. In reality, they took action fast enough when their own interests were directly attacked. When German and Italian submarines began sinking their merchantmen in 1937, as part of the war on Republican Spain, the British and French Governments called a Conference at Nyon and within 48 hours got an international decision to hunt down 'unknown submarines'.

There is also a legend that the pre-war League of Nations failed because it could not make up its mind. True enough, when Ethiopia and Spain and China and Czechoslovakia were being attacked by Italy, Germany and Japan, the Western Powers who controlled the League seemed unable to do anything to stop them. But directly there was a clash between the Soviet Union and the pro-German Government of Finland, in 1939, not only did the League expel the U.S.S.R. within a week, but it blessed the despatch of large quantities of arms, munitions and—if possible—troops to help the Finnish Fascists.

The fact is that the League failed because the British and French Governments who dominated it—supported from outside by Wall Street—were always missing when to apply its rules might involve them in conflict with potential enemies of the U.S.S.R., but sprang to their posts when anything anti-Soviet could be undertaken. This was natural, because the British and French Governments were acting on behalf of banking, industrial and merchant kings, while the U.S.S.R. was the only Socialist State. Thus the League of Nations was made a tool of capitalism against socialism.

This experience needs to be borne in mind in reading the proceedings of the United Nations concerning Korea.

In July, 1949, fighting broke out between the South and the North. Did the United Nations take any notice? It didn't. The North weren't strong enough then to hit back at the South—although guerillas made things so hot for the Southern Armies that they couldn't advance far either. There was no danger threatening the investments of American capital. But in June, 1950, fighting broke out again. The Southern invasion broke down. The United Nations

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rump (less U.S.S.R. and China) got busy. On the report of its Commission in South Korea (headed by a representative of Chiang Kai-shek, i.e., by an American agent), it announced that the Northerners had started it. Before proceeding, however, it is worth noting that, as the author of *John Gilpin* put it, 'a wonder came to pass, That showed the rogues they lied'. We quote from the speech of Y. A. Malik at the Security Council on August 11 (circulated to all British newspapers, but suppressed by most):

> The report of the Commission alleges that the South Korean troops were deployed in depth for defence. The United States Government's report, submitted to the Security Council, however, says that on the part of South Korea five South Korean divisions operated at the beginning of the clash, while a sixth division was somewhat further to the south and took part in fighting on June 26. The same report alleged that three divisions and two brigades, that is, rather less than five divisions, were engaged by North Korea at the beginning of the clash.
>
> Thus the Syngman Rhee troops were not deployed in depth for defence, as is incorrectly reported in the document of the Commission, but were concentrated along the boundary, obviously for the purpose of an attack against Northern Korea.

However, on the sole authority of a report supplied to the Commission by the puppet Southern premier, the majority of Security Council members came to the rescue.

Under Article 32 of the Charter, a state inside or outside the United Nations involved in a dispute under consideration by the Security Council 'shall be invited to participate without vote in the discussion'. This had been fulfilled when Indonesians were fighting Dutch, and Arabs the Palestinian Jews. But the Anglo-American capitalist majority defeated a proposal to invite the North Koreans, and proceeded at break-neck speed to condemn them as aggressors.

Under Article 23 of the Charter, China is a permanent member of the Council, and under Article 27 on all major matters the agreement of all permanent members is required. Instead of lifting the U.S.A. veto on the representative of the only real government of China—the People's Republic—and thereby bringing back the U.S.S.R. as well, which had been staying away in protest, the Anglo-American majority rushed through their resolutions with the vote of the ghost representative of Chiang Kai-shek, the U.S.A. puppet.

Under Article 51 of the Charter, there is the right of 'individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations', without waiting for Security Council action. No such attack had occurred; yet the U.S.A. immediately

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sent its 'planes against the North Koreans. The Anglo-American capitalist majority obediently endorsed the action of the boss.

Under Article 2 of the Charter, all members ' shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State '. During the war, the Big Three had repeatedly recognised that the island of Taiwan (Formosa), stolen from China by Japan in 1895, was China's national territory: that, in fact, is how Chiang Kai-shek came to be there in 1950. But the U.S.A. seized the opportunity to announce that, if the Government of the Chinese Republic attempted to chase this man—America's paid and utterly dependent tool—out of Taiwan, the U.S. navy would prevent it. In other words it seized part of the territory of China. And the Anglo-American capitalist majority on the Security Council endorsed it.

Thus in the course of June, 1950, the United Nations were made the tool of the United States Government, i.e., of the banking, industrial and merchant kings of Wall Street.

In the course of July, this situation was recognised by the Indian Prime Minister, Nehru, to be somewhat awkward. He made a proposal on July 13 that the Chinese People's Government should be allowed to take its rightful place in the Security Council, the U.S.S.R. should return to it, and that the U.S.S.R., U.S.A., and China should then, with co-operation from others, ' find a basis for the cessation of the conflict and for a final solution of the Korean problem '. The proposal was sent to the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.

Stalin accepted it on July 15 adding only his *opinion* ' that for a speedy settlement of the Korean question it would be expedient to hear in the Security Council representatives of the Korean people '. Nehru expressed his gratitude for this ' prompt and encouraging reply '. The U.S.A. rejected the proposal. It wanted war, not peace. And the British, French and other satellite capitalist governments supported the U.S.A.

From August 1, the Anglo-American majority had another chance to restore peace. It was the turn of the U.S.S.R. to take the presidency of the Security Council for a month, and Y. A. Malik, Soviet Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, took the chair. He used it, not as the reptile press of Fleet Street asserts to conduct propaganda, but to try and find a reasonable, compromise way out of the deadlock, which would both restore peace in the Far East and turn the whole international situation out of its present threatening state, one step towards mutual understanding and peace.

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RELAIS DE LA JEUNESSE

DU 31 JUILLET AU 15 AOUT 1950

SOUS LE PATRONAGE DE LA REVUE « LES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX »

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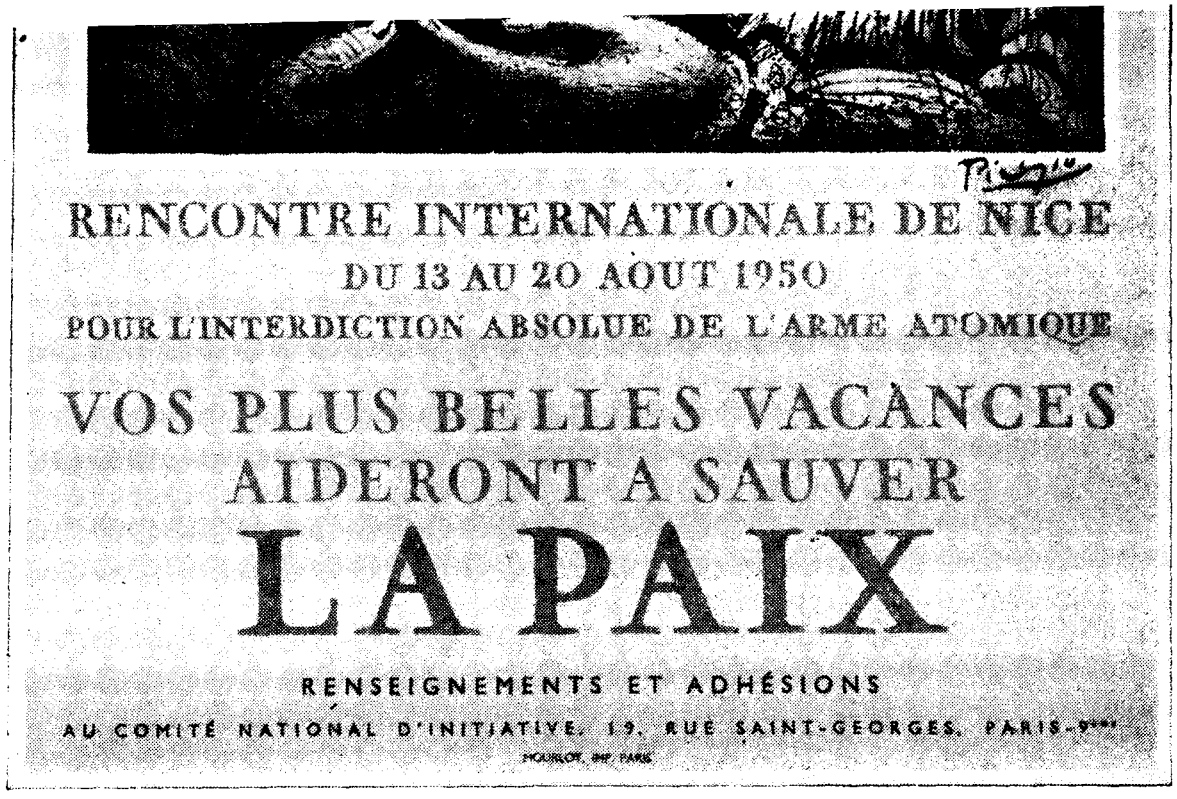
Picasso
RENCONTRE INTERNATIONALE DE NICE
DU 13 AU 20 AOUT 1950
POUR L'INTERDICTION ABSOLUE DE L'ARME ATOMIQUE
VOS PLUS BELLES VACANCES
AIDERONT A SAUVER
LA PAIX
RENSEIGNEMENTS ET ADHÉSIONS
AU COMITÉ NATIONAL D'INITIATIVE, 19, RUE SAINT-GEORGES, PARIS-9ème

Drawing by Picasso (*see page* 413)

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Directly he took his seat, Malik gave them the first chance by ruling that Dr. Tsiang, Chiang Kai-shek's delegate, was not the legal representative of China. Everyone present knew that, even from the formal point of view, this was so. Britain had recognised the Chinese People's Republic: the U.S.A. had long ago placed on record the utter failure of its military and financial efforts to impose the rule of Chiang on the outraged Chinese people. And this formal situation brought out all the more clearly the substance of the case—that, if the Security Council was really to have the weight and authority to impose peace, it must include its full complement of members: more particularly as the two involved were the neighbours of Korea. Only then, as Malik underlined in his speech of August 3, could its decisions 'be authoritative and indisputable'.

But the Anglo-American majority, who were already rejecting criticism of President Truman's seizure of Formosa as 'legalistic quibbles', seized on precisely such a quibble to reject Malik's action as 'going beyond the powers of the President'. His ruling was rejected by eight votes to three (U.S.S.R., India, Yugoslavia).

He then gave them a second chance, by using his right as President to submit a draft agenda. In it he included two points—recognition of the Chinese People's Government delegate as representative of China and the question of a peaceful settlement of the Korean conflict. This led to two whole days of discussion, in which the British and American delegates played a leading part, insisting that neither of these items ought to be discussed, and that priority should be given to a resolution moved by the Americans on the eve of Malik's becoming President—condemning North Korea once again and calling on all countries to co-operate in fighting her, yet to 'refrain from action that might lead to spreading of the conflict'.

Coming from a Government which was deliberately provoking an extension of the conflict by announcing that its warships would prevent the Government of China from asserting its authority over part of its national territory, this was particularly brazen.

Finally Malik's agenda was rejected by seven to two, with two abstentions, and the American resolution substituted for it by eight to one, with two abstentions. The Council refused by five to five, with one abstention, to add Malik's draft resolution about China to the agenda—and this tie was only secured by counting the vote of the fake representative of the non-existent Chiang Kai-shek 'government' with the opposing votes. Lastly, by seven votes to three, with one abstention, the Security Council refused to put on its agenda the

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question of a peaceful settlement in Korea. Thus in every detail the Anglo-American capitalist bloc made it clear that it wanted war in Korea, come what may: that it wanted freedom for the U.S.A. to provoke China to war, come what may: and that for these high and noble purposes it was prepared to reject both the primary purpose of the Charter—'to maintain international peace and security'—and one of its fundamental conditions—peaceful co-operation of the five Great Powers, including China.

On August 4, when Malik made yet a third effort to reopen the door, the imperialist majority once again demonstrated its hostility to peace—and, incidentally, to the peoples of Asia. Malik moved a fourfold resolution:

> The Security Council resolves: (a) To consider it necessary to invite the representative of the Chinese People's Republic and also to hear representatives of the Korean people in the course of the discussion of the Korean question; (b) To stop the military hostilities in Korea and simultaneously to withdraw foreign troops from Korea.

He made it clear that hearing both sides was not only, in the Soviet view, elementary justice, but would be the means 'to bring to an end actions resembling war in Korea'. Nevertheless, the Anglo-American bloc spent the whole day insisting that the North Koreans should not be invited—the American arguing that the United Nations had recognised Syngman Rhee (which was entirely irrelevant), and the British delegate accusing the Northerners of having shown themselves 'hostile' to the United Nations—because they had not obeyed a hostile decision taken in the flagrantly unfair conditions described earlier!

Finally the proceedings had to be adjourned until August 8. The embarrassment felt by many, even in the poisonous atmosphere of Lake Success, at the 'I'll be judge, I'll be jury' attitude of the Anglo-American bloc, was reflected that morning in a message from *The Times* special correspondent, admitting that invitation of both sides to state their case was 'a move for which there are precedents and which, it is widely felt, the Council could accept without prejudice'. But not a bit of it. The State Department whip had cracked during the interval. All day on the 8th was spent in argument: Malik took the opportunity to point out that, when they had discussed Korea before, in 1947, it was the Anglo-American bloc then that used its veto to prevent the North Koreans being heard.

Infuriated by a telegram from the Korean People's Government describing in detail the inhuman, barbarous bombing and machine gunning of the civil population by the United States Air Force—

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and also faced with a Soviet draft resolution proposing condemnation of these practices as a gross violation of international law—the American delegation moved and secured a further adjournment until August 10, threatening the most dire penalties if the U.S.S.R. did not desist from 'obstruction', i.e., from opposing the war in Korea and pressing its proposals for a peaceful settlement. Incidentally, *The Times* Military Correspondent on August 16 made a belated admission of the horror aroused by the revelations in the Korean Note:

> Correspondents' reports suggest that most of the towns and villages lost to the enemy have been smashed up by bombing or in a few cases by naval gunfire. It is natural that every possible effort should be made to lighten the heavy burden borne by the land forces by means of air support, but the bombing of friendly territory is likely to have unpleasant repercussions if foreign observers conclude that it is excessive. Its effect on the South Koreans can only be guessed, but there can be no doubt that it is regarded with apprehension and even some indignation elsewhere in Asia.
>
> The effect in Western Europe has also to be taken into account. There, in considering the effort required in the event of war, note will be taken of the sort of war.
>
> . . . The moral factor, immensely important, can be forgotten only at great risk. We have already grasped the fact that people would much rather be saved than 'liberated'. We must realise, too, that when the work of their hands is destroyed by allies they want to be sure that no mistake has been made in estimating the necessity of the act.

But of course this kind of consideration was of little weight with the power-drunk spokesmen of Wall Street. Not only did their 'planes continue their murderous work—indeed intensifying it as the military situation took a more and more unfavourable turn for the American invaders in Korea—but, when the Security Council reassembled after the adjournment, they showed themselves as obdurate as ever in rejecting the slightest suggestion of a return to elementary decency in handling the Korean conflict. Most of August 10 and 11 was spent on argument about whether North Korea should be invited, with—as a slight diversion—charges from the American delegate Austin that the U.S.S.R. was supplying war materials to the North Korean forces. To this Malik gave a categorical reply:

> Yesterday in my short remarks I already gave an answer to this slanderous statement. I pointed out that the allegation made by the United States' representative was slanderous and in no way corresponded to fact, since

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North Korea has at her disposal arms which were sold to her by the Soviet Union at the time of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Korea.

It is not only the United States' representative who is making slanderous statements in this respect. The well-known warmonger Mr. Churchill and some of his followers are also spreading similar slanders, alleging that the Soviet Union is supplying North Korea with jet-propelled aircraft. This invention by Mr. Churchill does not correspond to the truth and is invented from beginning to end. It is quite obvious from the facts I cited before, and from the data I am going to cite, that the artillery stores for the North Korean troops were made up from the artillery and arms which the United States Government in such large quantities and so generously sent for its South Korean puppet Syngman Rhee.

But Malik was not primarily concerned with these points. He devoted his main effort once again to underlining that

> The Soviet Union is prepared to take an active part in the peaceful settlement of the Korean question through the Security Council and to exercise its influence for the attainment of this lofty aim.

However, this was the last thing the Anglo-American bloc appeared to be interested in: and on August 11 the proceedings were adjourned for a further three days. During the interval an *Observer* correspondent revealed from Lake Success (August 13) that the invasion of Korea by the Americans (described by her as 'United Nations action') involved 'uniting Korea and preparing elections for the entire country', and that an international force was being prepared for this purpose, led by a Canadian unit but under American supreme command, to exercise 'provisional occupation'. The true purposes of the systematic rejection of all the Soviet peace efforts could hardly have been explained more clearly.

Whether these interesting plans were to be realised did not of course depend entirely on the will of their promoters. But the rôle of the United Nations, pressed into service by the dictators of Wall Street as a tool of the capitalist world against the world of Socialism, came more and more to resemble that of the ill-fated League of Nations.

The beautiful drawing by Pablo Picasso on pages 408-9, *which adorns a French poster advertising an international rally last month at Nice, emphasises the important part that youth can play in the saving of world peace.*

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MILITARY LESSONS OF KOREA

CENTURION

> A revolutionary war—a revolutionary class war or a revolutionary national war—is possessed with specific conditions and characteristics in addition to general conditions and characteristics found in a war in general. Thus besides the laws of war in general, it is governed by its own specific laws. Without understanding the specific conditions, characteristics and laws, there is no way to direct a revolutionary war or to score a victory in such a war.
>
> Mao Tse-tung: *Strategic Problems of China's Revolutionary War.*

WHEN the Korean events burst like a thunder clap upon us and terribly dazed and blinded many, there can have been few, at least in Britain, who realised how rapidly these events would be revealed as a fiasco of U.S. policy, a fiasco of U.S. strategy and military theory, and a demonstration of the moral ascendancy, technical ability and strategical mastery of the forces of People's democracy. These things have taken too many of us by surprise and it is necessary to study them. This article is a halting preliminary attempt to assess some of the lessons of the military operations on the basis of as yet confused and woefully incomplete information. It is necessary for this purpose to give a rapid review of (a) the terrain, (b) the forces, and (c) the fighting; this is given in Part I. In Part II is the attempt to draw some conclusions from the events described.

I

(*A*) *TERRAIN*

Korea south of Parallel 38 is generally less mountainous and more open in the West than in the East, particularly south of Seoul and west of a line from Chungju through Taejon to Chonju, though in this region too there are many hills reaching heights of 2,000ft. and more. The Eastern half of the peninsula down nearly to the line Taegu-Pohang is a complicated mass of high hills and mountains, apparently steep-sided for the most part, rising to heights of 3,000 to 4,000ft. From this mass of hills a backbone runs down the centre roughly from Chungju through Hwanggan-Yongdong to Namwon and to the sea at Sunchon, rising to heights of 5,000ft. and with at least one peak north-west of Chinju, of over 6,000ft. To what extent the hills carry close scrub it has been difficult to discover. There

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are many water-courses, but apparently few rivers, many of the crossings being normally by ferry and not by bridge. A careful study of the little information which is available suggests that from the military point of view many of the problems are similar to those of the northern part of Tunisia. It is country which offers splendid opportunities for determined defence and also great scope for skilful guerilla action. Distances between some significant places (very roughly calculated) are: Pyongyang to Seoul 150 miles, Parallel 38 to Seoul 35 miles, Seoul to Taejon 100 miles, Seoul to Chinju 210 miles, Taejon to Kumchon 65 miles, Chinju-Kochang-Kumchon 100 miles, Seoul-Chungju-Andong 140 miles.

(B) RELATIVE FORCES

(This estimate of the forces concerned is based on a study of correspondents' and commentators' estimates, captured South Korean documents published in the Press, and a consideration of the course of the campaign. It is highly speculative, particularly in relation to the forces of the Korean Democratic Republic.)

South Korea. The forces available for the invasion of the Korean Democratic Republic were seven or eight divisions, including one motorised division, a tank unit, a reconnaissance unit, anti-aircraft units and various other specialised units, the whole amounting to about ten divisions with a strength of about 100,000 men.

U.S.A. The first U.S. ground forces began to land at the end of June. The whole of 24 Division was in action by the middle of July. Elements of 25 Division and 1 Cavalry Division were in action just before the fall of Taejon. On August 1, 2 Division landed and early in August, 1 Marine Division came into action.

Korean Democratic Republic. Estimates of the strength of People's Army forces have varied from 5-6 divisions in the early stages to as many as 15 divisions; the more difficulties the Americans ran into the larger grew the estimates of Korean strength. Similarly, Korean tank strength has varied from estimates of 40-50 tanks up to as many as 200—while U.S. claims of tanks destroyed (as many as 40 at a time!) would make the total several times the higher figure. Taking into account the nature of the fighting and the supply possibilities, it seems unlikely that the Koreans have built up their main force to more than seven or eight divisions. In addition to this they have made several coastal landings of up to a division in strength. It seems unlikely that their tank force is more than a regiment in strength (say 100—120 tanks). They appear to be well

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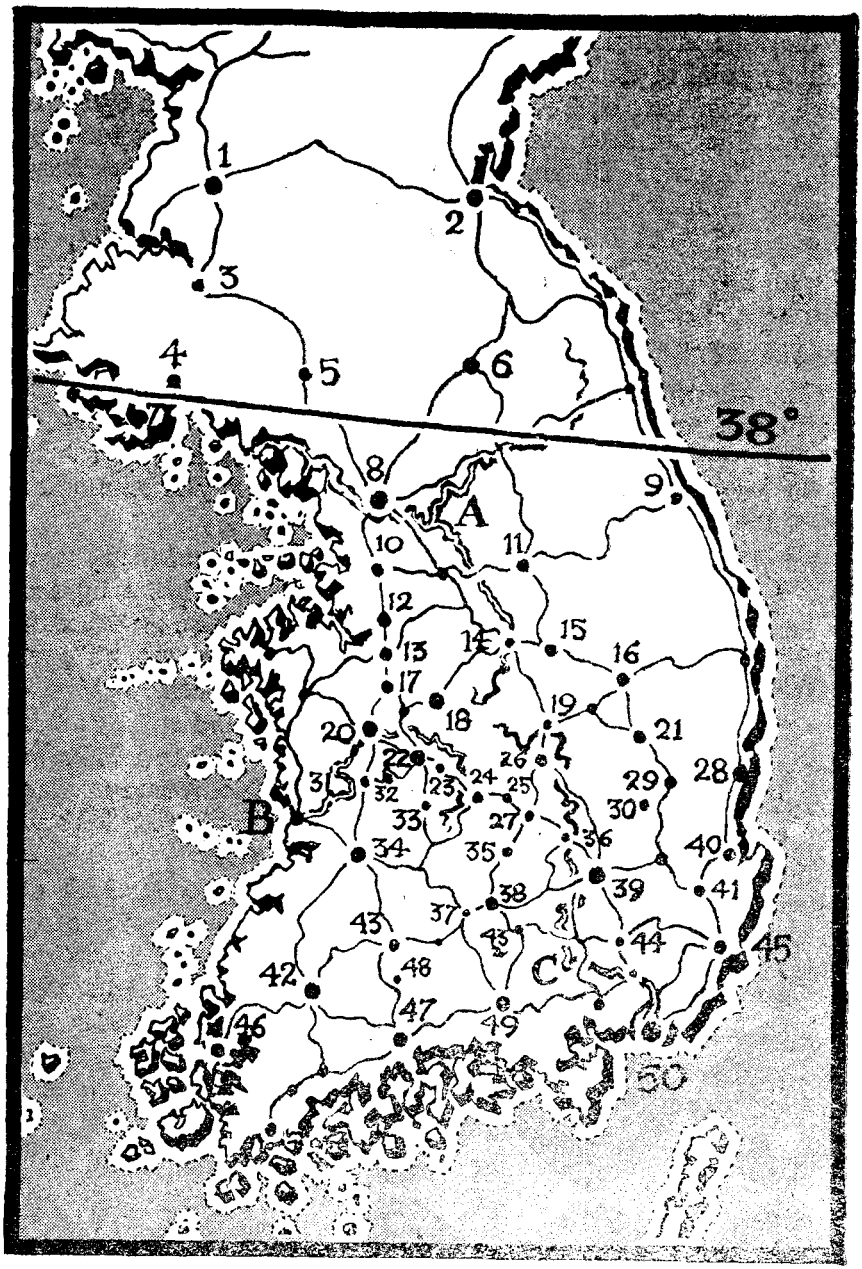

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supplied with artillery and mortars. They have also captured considerable quantities of equipment, including tanks and armoured cars. A quite unknown quantity is the strength of the guerilla forces available—certainly a steadily increasing force.

(C) COURSE OF THE CAMPAIGN

The campaign can be conveniently divided into four phases: (i) up to the capture of Seoul and the crossing of the Han River; (ii) up to the fall of Taejon; (iii) the crossing of the backbone and the fall of Chinju and Kumchon; (iv) the closing in and the assault on the Chinju-Taejon-Pohang position.

(i) The attack by South Korean forces across Parallel 38 apparently directed on Haeju **(4),** Kumchon **(5)** and Chorwon **(6)** with Pyongyang **(1)** as the main objective, was halted by forces of the Democratic Republic and repulsed in a few hours. Units of the People's Army drove the invading troops south of the parallel and in the course of four days advanced some 70 kilometres, liberated Seoul **(8)** and crossed the Han River **(A).** In this period two South Korean divisions were destroyed, 9,000 officers and men were killed or wounded, nearly 6,000 were taken prisoner and much equipment was captured, including 140 lorries and 500 heavy and light guns on the Ongjin **(7)** peninsula alone. This phase of the fighting proved that a large part of the South Korean forces had no stomach for the war and that in a few days the People's Army could liberate the whole country.

(ii) Between July 1 and July 13, the main Korean forces pushed down the West Coast, captured Suwon **(10),** where they first met American troops, pushed the American forces back through Pyongtaek **(12),** Chonan **(13)** and Chochiwon **(17)** and reached the Kum

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KEY TO KOREA MAP *(on opposite side)*

Andong 21; Anui 37; Chinju 49; Chirve 35; Chochiwon 17; Chonan 13; Chongju 18; Chonju 34; Chorwon 6; Chungju 14; Haeju 4; Hamchang 19; Han River A; Hwanggan 25; Hyopchon 43a; Kangnung 9; Kochang 38; Kongju 20; Kum River B; Kumchon 5 (North of 38th); Kumchon 27; Kumsan 33; Kunwi 30; Kurye 48; Kwangju 42; Kyongju 41; Miryang 44; Mokpo 46; Naktong River C; Namwon 43; Nonsan 31; Okchon 23; Ongjin 7; Pohang 40; Pusan 50; Pyongtaek 12; Pyongyang 1; Sangju 26; Sariwon 3; Seoul 8; Sunchon 47; Suwon 10; Taejon 22; Taegu 39; Tanyang 15; Uisong 29; Ulsan 45; Waegwan 36; Wonju 11; Wonsan 2; Yongdok 28; Yongdong 24; Yongju 16; Yonsan 32.

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River **(B)**, on which the Americans were supposed to make a firm stand covering Taejon **(22)**. During this period also subsidiary forces advanced in the centre through the mountains, reaching Chongju **(18)** and Tanyang **(15)** and also down the East Coast. Landings were also made at various points along the East Coast. On July 14 Korean forces crossed the Kum River **(B)** near Kongju **(20)**, which fell the next day. The Americans were forced back toward Taejon **(22)**, Nonsan **(31)** and Yonsan **(32)** were taken; and Korean troops also moved down through the hills from Chochiwon **(17)**. In five days from crossing the Kum River **(B)** the People's Army successfully enveloped Taejon **(22)**, which was completely cleared on July 20. During this period also the advance on the East Coast reached Yongdok **(28)**, which so alarmed the American command that they landed a division at Pohang **(40)**, 25 miles to the south. In this phase, in spite of continued all-out U.S. air attacks both on supply routes and on the forward troops, the People's Army inflicted a series of defeats on the regular forces of the American Army, assaulted a defended river line, and broke the defence of the key to the whole American position, turned the American defences, laid open the whole of the South-West of the peninsula and secured the possibility of driving the American forces back to the East Coast.

(iii) Following the fall of Taejon **(22)**, the People's Army maintained pressure on the Americans retreating down the Taegu **(39)** road which here starts to climb the backbone and at the same time swept South and South-West. Chonju **(34)**, Kwangju **(42)** and Mokpo **(46)** fell in the next four days. Three days after the fall of Taejon **(22)**, American forces at Okchon **(23)** and Yongdong **(24)** were encircled: equipment captured in this operation included 479 lorries, nine tanks, 27 armoured cars, 62 guns of various sorts, 70 mortars, 137 machine guns, and so on. In the course of the next week Sunchon **(47)**, Namwon **(43)**, Anui **(37)**, Kochang **(38)**, Hwanggan **(25)** and Chinju **(49)** were liberated. In the northern sector Yechon, some 15 miles north-east of Hamchang **(19)**, fell and in the next two days Andong **(21)** and Sangju **(26)** followed, with a strong thrust south in the direction of Uisong **(29)** and Kunwi **(30)**. The envelopment of Kumchon **(27)** developed. On August 3, Kumchon **(27)** was taken. On the same day Hyopchon **(43a)** fell and on the next day Kunwi **(30)**, Uisong **(29)** and—in the direction of Yongdok **(28)**—Chongsong. The last defences of the high mountains were down and the Americans fell back rapidly to

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the Naktong River **(C)** and a line some 15 miles north of Taegu-Pohang **(39, 40).** In the fighting for Hwanggan **(25)** more than 1,800 officers and men of the U.S. forces were killed and much equipment was captured. In the fighting for Hamchang **(19)** and Andong **(21)** over 1,200 prisoners were taken, and 23 guns and many mortars, machine guns and other arms were captured. In the course of the fighting for Uisong **(29),** 6,000 South Korean troops were killed or wounded and 600 taken prisoner and equipment captured included four tanks, 17 armoured cars, 88 guns and a considerable quantity of small arms.

In the space of a fortnight the People's Army had fought their way through the highest mountains in southern Korea, broken the main enemy resistance at Kumchon **(27),** in the course of which U.S. First Cavalry Division was severely mauled, and forced the Americans back into their 'last ditch' positions. Within two days the People's Army had already begun to establish bridgeheads over the Naktong River **(C).** By the end of the third phase there were already four U.S. divisions in action. At the opening of the fourth phase a fifth division, the much advertised First Marine Division, was brought into action. At this stage, with five U.S. divisions and, according to persistent American and British reports, five south Korean divisions in action, the U.S. command must have disposed of some 100,000 troops. It is unlikely that the People's Army assaulting this position (excluding guerillas) exceeded 75,000. Extensive guerilla forces were active in the areas of Miryang **(44),** Pusan **(50),** Ulsan **(45)** and Kyongju **(41).**

(iv) At the opening of the fourth phase the U.S. command, to relieve the direct threat to Pusan **(50)** and apparently under the impression that this was the main axis of advance of the People's Army, launched a strong counter-attack with a powerful armoured force, with the object of re-taking Chinju **(49),** and in four days advanced some seven miles. In the meantime, however, the main attacks of the People's Army developed from two directions, across the Naktong River **(C),** roughly 20 miles south of Taegu **(39),** and from the north directed at dividing Taegu **(39)** and Pohang **(40).** At the time of writing Pohang **(40)** has fallen, the Naktong River bridgeheads are growing and strong pressure is reported on Waegwan **(36),** north-west of Taegu **(39).** A notable feature of the capture of Pohang **(40)** was the part played by guerillas, apparently from the area of Kyongju **(41).**

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II

Before considering some of the reasons for this fiasco of American policy and military theory, it is necessary to draw attention to a significant feature of the campaign. It will be recalled that at every successive defeat and collapse of the American forces communiqués and reports have presented a picture of tired and harassed troops 'too thin on the ground' overwhelmed by vastly superior forces, beaten back by hordes of powerful tanks and deceived by perfidious refugees with rifles concealed in their trouser-legs. Yet a careful examination seems to show that at no time have the Korean People's Army enjoyed a marked overall superiority in troops. Furthermore, though they have usually been able to deploy tanks at the decisive place when they needed them, much of their fighting and many of their important successes appear to have been gained without the use of tanks at all. On the other hand it is true that throughout the operations they have been able to concentrate the requisite force where it was needed, to shift their emphasis from one sector to another and to have the Americans guessing from day to day.

What explains the series of fantastic miscalculations on the part of the U.S. imperialists in relation to Korea? First they calculated that Syngman Rhee could do the trick; then air supremacy was to stop the rot; the mere appearance of Yankee troops was to strike terror to the hearts of the Koreans; wonderful new weapons, super this or super that, were to wipe them out; the 1 Cavalry Division would save the day; the marines—ah! the marines—nothing could stand against them. The whole course of events from the initial aggressive plan has been a fiasco of American diplomacy, a fiasco of world strategy, a fiasco of military theory and organisation.

None of this is surprising when one considers that the U.S.A. is the empire of 'big business' at its highest development. The ideas and methods of 'big business' permeate the American way of life and thought through and through. This 'big business' outlook, for example, is carried to astonishing lengths in the organisation of the U.S. Army. During the Second World War, I came across more than one instance of this. For example, in talking to a wireless operator with an American armoured unit I discovered that the only thing he knew how to do was to operate his key and read the morse. As for knowing anything about the set he was using or being able to do anything if things went wrong, or get down and operate in a tank, this was quite outside his training—'division of labour' carried to

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the *n*th degree. This small, but illuminating example throws light on a question which has puzzled many people—how is it that the Americans, with their great reputation for organisation, have so often shown themselves incapable of good staff work in the field? Business methods are not enough in a field of activity where man's moral fibre, where fundamentally moral and political factors, are decisive. Another aspect of the same problem is given in a despatch from *The Times* correspondent in Korea, dated July 26:

> There is now an abundance of American transport and heavy equipment of all kinds. Indeed, there is almost too much, and one sometimes feels that American forces are made less rather than more mobile by all their transport and elaborate supply organisation.

This faith in the organising power of the dollar explains the reliance placed on the Syngman Rhee troops, explains the view that equipment is the decisive factor. It is the big business outlook, too, with its view that anyone can be bought, leading to a contempt for people, which explains the reliance on air power and the belief that terror bombing can break a people's resistance. It leads to grave faults of army organisation and training, to an apparently highly mobile army becoming rigid and static, unable to meet flexibility with flexibility. Above all it leads to a state of mind, a moral condition, in the troops, in the first place of arrogant superiority and contempt for a less wealthy enemy, and in the second of complete dependence on every detail of equipment, so that meeting determined opposition and needing to fight in conditions where all their mechanical superiority cannot be employed, they are unable to orientate themselves and collapse. In this connection it is also interesting to note that while claiming complete mastery of the sea and of the air, the U.S. forces have been unable to make any opposed landings, though they have tried to do so on the South Coast, and have been unable to prevent coastal craft of the Republic from carrying supplies and from landing troops at various points.

From the beginning the anti-popular nature of their aggression affected the strategy of the Americans. How was it that, contrary to all wisdom, they threw their troops, in packets as they came, higgledy-piggledy, to try and hold the most forward positions, at Suwon **(10)** and Pyongtaek **(12)** for example? In part, this is explained by the arrogant assumption that U.S. troops had only to appear to decide the issue. But it also arose from the need for the imperialist forces to preserve as much as possible of the country from the popular contagion. For the imperialists what matters is to

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control the maximum territory—and this in itself imposes a rigidity of strategy and precludes flexibility—whereas for the people's forces what matters is to destroy the enemy.

It is to the People's Army that we have to turn for an example of highly skilled command, initiative, daring and skill-at-arms among the fighting troops, sound strategical and tactical conceptions. The picture of a tremendous overall superiority of fighting troops is undoubtedly inaccurate. The Korean Supreme Command has consistently employed the classical manœuvre of pinning the enemy while conducting a decisive enveloping movement both in each individual operation and on a campaign scale. It has skilfully combined the use of up-to-date modern equipment, with extensive use of light troops in the hills and co-ordinated operations with guerilla units and on the flanks of the enemy. Thus the Korean Supreme Command has shown that it has excellently studied and applied the laws of war in general and the laws of revolutionary war and the laws of war in the particular conditions of the struggle for the national unity and independence of Korea. Furthermore, the Koreans, who up till five years ago had suffered generations of colonial rule and suppression, have shown technical mastery of modern weapons and equipment, in particular tanks and artillery, and in the employment of close support weapons, especially mortars, which are a decisive weapon in the infantry battle. An illustration of the strategical foresight and boldness of the Supreme Command is given by the numerous landings of troops at places down the East Coast, including large landings near Pohang in the early part of the campaign, of which nothing more has been heard. It seems clear that to a large extent these forces were landed in order to penetrate inland and lead and organise the guerillas, in particular those guerilla forces which are now so important in the Chinju-Taegu-Pohang ' box '.

What lies at the root of these successes of the People's Army? This is answered by Kim Ir Sen in his interview with *L'Humanité*:

> Above all our victories are due to the fact that we are fighting for a just cause, for the country's freedom and independence against American invaders and their agents. The Korean people who have experienced colonial bondage have no wish to be slaves of the American imperialists. The People's Army is fighting with the full and sincere support of their fellow-countrymen and with the sympathy and backing of all progressive mankind. All this inspires our fighters and all of our people to deeds of heroism. At the same time, it is worth mentioning that we are not badly armed and equipped.

Compare this with the following quotation from *The Times*:

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' Roads near the front are cluttered . . . with tens of thousands of refugees fleeing south . . . many of these refugees are government officials, policemen, village headmen and the like ', with the more and more persistent complaints about the infiltration tactics of the Koreans, with the discovery that South Korean trains apparently can only move in one direction, and it becomes clear that the majority of the South Korean people are the omnipresent allies of the People's Army. And therein lies a large part of the solution to the supply problems of the People's Army, which in spite of U.S. air power has been able to switch its main forces from point to point at will. The revival of the People's Committees, the introduction of the Land Reform by the advancing army, combined with the people's anger at the senseless, reckless and inhuman destruction of village, hamlet, farmstead and peaceful peasant in his ricefield, from the air, these are most potent and effective forces supporting the successes of the People's Army.

It can be seen, then, that the course of the Korean war has brought out a number of lessons which we need to study and master.

1. First and foremost is the need to understand that military thought and military strategy which has not a correct political content is blind and unsound. War has laws and a logic of its own. It is not simply a question of dollars, equipment, calculations. It is above all a question of people and their motive force. But the Americans considered everything else except the people.

2. It has been proved once again that in an aggressive war against a people, no subsidiary arms, neither the air nor the navy, are decisive. It is ground troops that decide. This is of special interest in Britain where the Army is being trained on the basis of Montgomery's ' principle '—' You must win the air battle first ', a teaching which so affects the morale of troops as to leave them unable to move forward in the face of heavy air attack. It is clear that the tremendous weight of the air offensive has affected the course of the operations and the lack of a strong and weighty air force has handicapped the People's Army. But the very size of the air preponderance itself drives home the inability of air-power to decide the issue against a People's Army.

3. The decisive battle-winning factor remains the infantry; without good infantry there is no hope of success.

4. Overall technical superiority and weight of equipment is not necessarily decisive. Decisive is the morale of troops and commanders, their military skill and the capacity of the command to use the

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right concentration of forces at the right place and the right time.

None of this must be taken to belittle the importance of good equipment and good training; these are vital; but they have significance only in relation to the moral-political factor.

It is high time these questions were studied more thoroughly and much more deeply than has been done in this article. The Korean events are a pattern of the future—not only a pattern of the aggressive plans of U.S.-British imperialism but a pattern of the growing resistance of the peoples which will defeat that aggression. This is the great significance of what has happened in Korea. Strike where they will, the imperialists will meet the resistance of the peoples and their resistance will be the more effective the more they have studied and mastered the principles so clearly laid down by Mao Tse-tung in the quotation which heads this article.

FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

INTERNATIONAL ACTION FOR PEACE

AGAINST this conspiracy of war and slaughter a strong, united Trade Union International would be a real weapon—the only weapon. No one can escape that fact, turn and twist how they will. Pending the achievement of international unity we have a temporary substitute for it in the joint committee which has been set up by our General Council in conjunction with the All-Russian Council. But a substitute, after all, is a substitute. Face to face as we are in this country today with an industrial crisis graver than ever before, we need the genuine article. The capitalist offensive waits for no man. At all costs, if we are to save ourselves, the fighting unity of the International Trade Union movement must be achieved.

A. A. Purcell, M.P., President of the International Federation of Trade Unions, in *The Burning Question of International Unity*, September, 1925.

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ACADEMIC WITCH - HUNT

GILBERT HITCHINGS

THE *New Statesman and Nation* has done useful service to the cause of democracy by bringing into the open an issue of political victimisation, knowledge of which might otherwise have been restricted to a much smaller circle.

The correspondence opens with a letter in the issue of May 13, 1950, calling attention to the decision of the Directors of the School of Slavonic Studies not to renew the appointment as lecturer of Mr. Andrew Rothstein. The letter, signed by non-Marxists like the well-known economist Joan Robinson and Professor Whitehead as well as Maurice Dobb—a Marxist, goes on to say

> We have good reason to believe that during the last two or three years political tests have been unofficially applied with increasing frequency in the making of appointments to University teaching posts. In a number of cases known to us candidates have been asked by members of interviewing boards whether or not they are members of the Communist Party. Whatever the reply given by the candidate, prejudice on a matter irrelevant to the appointment is induced. Such prejudice may well result in the appointment of a candidate other than the one best qualified for the post.
>
> In other cases, academic referees have been known to write glowing testimonials as to the candidate's qualifications, with a rider stating that he is a Communist. This type of interference with academic freedom cannot but result in the deterioration of standards of teaching and scholarship.

When the ordinary Trade Unionist, who knows nothing about the academic world, enquires more closely what it's all about, he finds himself at once on very familiar ground. There is, of course, no admission of victimisation on the part of the employer, there never is. The dismissal by the Council of the School of Slavonic Studies was on the grounds of Mr. Rothstein's 'inadequate' scholarship. Apparently they could not make use of the usual plea of 'redundancy'.

What is certain is the high regard in which Andrew Rothstein is held by his colleagues and students for his knowledge and teaching capacity. Warm tributes by his colleagues on the history staff in a letter of protest refer to him as 'a teacher of outstanding ability' and go on to say 'We ourselves have greatly benefited by his wide and detailed knowledge and generous co-operation'; 'his loss to the History Department would be irreparable'. Similarly

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from students of all political shades in a protest resolution of the Students' Union. 'A highly competent and conscientious teacher'. 'Never attempted to influence students politically'. His dismissal is 'to the serious detriment of the students and grossly unjust to Mr. Rothstein'. Further evidence of Mr. Rothstein's capacity is to be seen in the results of his teaching. He was invited by the School of Slavonic Studies at the time when there was a big demand on the part of demobilised men and women who were anxious to study the U.S.S.R. for the Russian Regional Hons. B.A. course which up to 1951 includes Russian Economic History, Political History of U.S.S.R. (as part of Russian History), Soviet Laws and Institutions. Andrew Rothstein, who was 48 at the time, started at the School in October, 1946. Studies of School's prospectuses and published reports show: 1920-1945—School's pupils secured total of 17 Hons. degrees, *none* of them in Russian Regional Studies. 1946-1949—School's pupils secured 28 Hons. degrees, 16 in Russian Regional Studies. Is there any doubt that such a startling change would have been impossible but for A. Rothstein's teaching? In March, 1950, that is, three months after his scholarship was found to be 'inadequate', the Senate appointed him examiner in final B.A. examination for the third year in succession after vainly trying for months to get someone else.

Readers of *Labour Monthly* who know A. Rothstein best by his recently published book, *Man and Plan in Soviet Economy* (1949), may not be acquainted with his previous writings. He has been a member of the Communist Party in this country since its formation; was a History Scholar at Balliol College, Oxford (M.A.), first visited Russia in 1920 and from then to 1936 made 14 visits, all the time studying Russian history, Soviet economy and Soviet institutions, and devoting many years to lecturing and writing on the U.S.S.R. His publications include one on the first Soviet Constitution (1923), still described in standard reference book (1942) at the best edition; a documentary study of the political character of Nicholas II (1934) in the preface to Bykov's *Last Days of Tsardom;* lectures on Soviet foreign policy reprinted by the Geneva Institute of International Relations in 'Problems of Peace' (1937, 1938, 1939); and he translated and edited for the first time in any foreign language Plekhanov's historic work of the '90s *In Defence of Materialism.*

It has been contended that Rothstein's appointment was only temporary anyway. We are, of course, familiar with the case of the

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apprentice who spends a few months on probation chiefly to find out whether he is likely to settle down to the job or whether he has any aptitude for it, or even of adults who are supposed to be 'on trial' for a few weeks; but nobody could seriously contend that this would apply to a man of 51 years of age whose lectures and writing were so well known as in the case of Andrew Rothstein.

The general public has no doubt that A. Rothstein's case is one of political victimisation. As D. N. Pritt, K.C., said at the Student Labour Federation Conference held at Brighton on April 1, when he revealed the facts for the first time, 'You might as well turn Mae West out of musical comedy on the ground that she is an immature schoolgirl'. The head-lines of the capitalist Press the following day show so well the immediate reaction: 'Communist Teacher to lose his job' (*Sunday Graphic*); 'Communist Lecturer Sacked' (*Sunday Express*); 'Communist Lecturer Dismissed' (*Sunday Chronicle*); 'Communist Lecturer loses his post' (*Observer*); 'University Axes Red Lecturer' (*Sunday Pictorial*). The *Daily Mirror* (April 4) wrote that the authorities 'flung him out—and rightly so' on account of 'his thoughts and what they might lead to'. It dismisses the talk of Rothstein's scholarship as 'flapdoodle'.

What is the importance of this issue to the working-class movement? One reason has already been stated by the *New Statesman and Nation* on June 24 in an editorial summing up correspondence in its columns over six weeks. 'The Foreign Office and other official bodies may conceivably view the School of Slavonic Studies less as a cloister for objective research than as a training school both for political warfare specialists and potential Intelligence agents'. Another reason is the need for solidarity against political victimisation as a matter of principle. As the same editorial stated: 'Dismissal of industrial militants for "redundancy" is an old employer's practice which is still found useful'. Our minds go back to 1926 and the General Strike and the readiness of University students to act as blacklegs. University teachers and teaching are already heavily biased against the working class. Particularly in the fields of economics, history, law, political science, the very subjects on which Andrew Rothstein had to teach, Tory opinions rule the roost. Whenever there is a move forward by the workers whether in the industrial or political fields, there is a ready host of obedient dons who come forward to lecture the workers on the folly and wickedness of their ways. One wonders how much of the political

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deterioration which is the tragedy of present-day politics is due to the infiltration into the Labour movement of those whose minds are soaked in capitalist ideology absorbed in British Universities.

Trade Unionists cannot afford to stand by and see the few militants who are to be found in our Universities victimised. On the contrary, it is our interest to stand out in defence of those who put Socialism and the cause of the workers first and in so doing encourage the students in their turn to side with the workers in their future careers rather than side with the capitalist class which dominates the Universities. My own Union, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, has recently gone on record deploring the action of the Government in purging workers in their establishments for reasons of their political beliefs, and has also expressed itself as strongly opposed to any attempt by private and public employers to institute any similar policy. It is obviously more difficult to make effective protests in Universities than in industry which makes it all the more necessary that Trade Unionists should give all the support they can to their comrades in the teaching profession. The immediate job is by resolutions and other forms of protest to bring such pressure as they can to get Andrew Rothstein reinstated in the post for which he seems so eminently fitted. But this cannot be sufficient. More positive action is necessary to so introduce democracy into our Universities as will secure adequate expression of Socialist ideas in the subjects taught.

Book Reviews

NEW HISTORY OF SOVIET UNION

A History of the U.S.S.R. by Andrew Rothstein. (384 pp., Penguin Books, 2*s.* 6*d.*)

PRACTICALLY everyone can read this book with advantage, and practically everyone should do so. No one knows too much already not to find it worth study, and no one is so ignorant—and not too many so hopelessly prejudiced—as not to be able to understand it. The enthusiast and the enemy can alike profit from it.

There is of necessity a great deal of compression, for the book carries history from the 1860s to the end of the Second World War. It is not—nor should it be—light reading. But it is always readable, seldom or never dull, and in many passages thrilling and inspiring—not solely by virtue of the magnificence of the story it has to tell. It is written with that objectivity—call it bias if you like—which does not consist in sitting on the fence (even when you know on which side you ought to have come down) but rather in knowing your own position, and at the same time understanding the case against you, presenting it fairly, and answering it. Mr. Rothstein grasps the nettles. (And his publishers, in another way, had to grasp

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something like nettles to publish the book at this particular stage of 'Western freedom'; they must be congratulated on giving everyone who can spare 2s. 6d. the chance of possessing the book, and of going on to the further reading which is recommended at the end of each chapter).

The book of course tells us of many things which it is good for us to learn, to remember and to follow up. To this reviewer, it brings several main lessons. Perhaps the first of these is that of the relentless, unending—and, as the book makes one understand, inevitable—hostility shown to the Soviet State by almost every ruling class in the world at almost every stage of the story. Here is the class-war on a world scale. The interventions, the open support of civil war, the later support—a little less open—of counter-revolutionary movements, the shameless encouragement of Nazi designs on 'the East', the sabotage of negotiations in the summer of 1939 (with the ridiculous excuse, from those who had blackmailed Czechoslovakia, that they could not force the Polish Fascist Government to agree to be defended), and innumerable other measures, make it clear that at every stage the determination to destroy if possible, and at any rate to cripple, the new power that threatened to prove, and did prove, that workers and peasants could rule and prosper without exploiters and without exploitation, took precedence over the other fears and the problems of the older powers, and over their very love of profit, too. It is not surprising—it is indeed symptomatic—that even before the First World War had ended, German military help was used by 'the Allies' against this new social phenomenon which threatened the privileges of both. Nor is it surprising that, as I will stress in a moment when I look at Mr. Rothstein's handling of the Soviet's rôle in the Second World War, this hostility and the readiness to risk the loss of almost anything else if only the Soviet Union could be injured, were as strong as ever right through the war, even if it was necessary to use a little camouflage. (This much of the story is alone enough to dispose of the absurd legend that these ruling classes had come to love the Soviet Union during the war, and that the latter had since then perversely cast away this friendship by its unreasonable and unneighbourly conduct!)

The next lesson the book brings us lies in the nature of the Soviet people's response to this hostility. Their major task, of course, was to build up a new—a Socialist—state out of chaos and misery and capitalist breakdown; and they had to do it through and against this tremendous barrage of hostility. How did they do it, in the early, materially poor, years of the new state, in the later forcing period of the five year plans, and in the Second World War? The answer is: By their own power. But by more than just power; an infinite shrewdness was called for, too. Problem after problem came up for decision. Shall we advance, retreat, side-step, compromise, dig-in, counter-attack? How shall we encourage the poor peasant, conciliate and enlist the middle peasant, rally workers and peasant to a common fight? How expel the hostile invader, and expose and eradicate the enemy at home? How solve meanwhile the appalling problems of development in town and country, level up the

LIGHT ON KOREA

D. N. Pritt's famous **3d.** pamphlet.

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terrible 'unbalance' of industry and agriculture, lay the foundations of a great industrial state? All these problems had to be solved, starting with a backward, illiterate population, with no time to spare, and with nature and external mankind alike in opposition. To strength and stubborn endurance was added great shrewdness; Marxist principles, applied with the flexibility which is of their essence, led to the solution of the problems; mistakes, setbacks, hardships, new advances, led to victories. Proof triumphant was given of the unlimited capacity of workers and peasants not merely to endure but to construct, given only two conditions—their own full mass participation in the work of planning, administration, and execution, and the leadership of their own élite, the Communist Party, and of the leader of them all, Joseph Stalin. Perhaps the most amazing feature of the struggle was the way in which their own faith, their sense of their own responsibility for their future, their consciousness of a great social purpose, their trust in their leaders' promises—based on the knowledge that *they and their leaders* could jointly fulfil the promises—led them to face not just for months but for decades conditions of hardship that it seemed almost impossible for anyone to carry.

Part, too, of the same lesson is the realisation of their passionate devotion to peace. As they went on and on, building, educating, developing, solving problems, bringing peasants and workers closer together, bringing into full equality not merely both sexes but all the myriads of the previous 'colonial' (non-Russian) races in the vast ex-prison-house of nations, drawing ever more and more thousands and scores of thousands directly into the actual administration of the state, demonstrating how competition (in its true, clear sense of emulation) and initiative can flourish in a Socialist state as they can nowhere else, it grew ever clearer that only war could halt their advance, *and that for that very reason* their capitalist enemies would find them a war if it could be managed. And so, they all wanted and needed peace, even more than the common people of every country have always wanted it. And an integral part of their history has been the active positive work for peace, exemplified, as one cynic remarked, by their hardihood in proposing disarmament even at the Disarmament Conference! (And peace, so long as they and we and others work for it, they shall have!)

Part of the lesson, no doubt, is that *strength* today lies at the root of progress, indeed, of survival; this they have understood, and so they have won and built strength, and hold it, more broadly based, more homogeneous, less threatening to any but aggressors, than ever before in history.

They have shown already, Mr. Rothstein makes clear, that the Marxist Socialist state is a triumphant practical success, with no problems that are not capable of solution, no decay, no defeatism. (Once again, one has to admire the vision of Lincoln Steffans, whose 'I have seen the future and it works' was spoken thirty years ago.)

Mr. Rothstein carries the story through to the end of the Second World War, and gives a clear picture of both the old capitalist hostility and the proved strength and shrewdness of the new multi-national and yet monolithic state, with its unending capacity to endure hardship in defence of achievements and objects understood and cherished, all of course more vividly reflected than ever in the fierce light of the awful test of Nazi invasion. On the one side, the old ambition to destroy the Soviet Union, and particularly to use the Nazis to destroy it, changes in 1941 to ruthless, bloody scheming to combine victory over the Nazis with the maximum weakening of the Soviet Union; at many

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moments the very aim of defeating the Nazis is endangered and the length and destructiveness of the war definitely increased, by such manœuvres against the Soviet Union. The attitude of many many powerful people in U.S.A. and Britain was well, if recklessly, expressed by Lord Brabazon (who wanted the Germans and the Russians to kill as many of each other as possible) and Senator Harry S. Truman (who wanted the U.S.A. to help whichever of the two was losing, 'and that way let them kill as many as possible'); and the endless manœuvres of the Churchill Government to delay the Second Front, so that the Soviet Union should carry the main burden of the war and exhaust itself in the process, was another and more serious manifestation of the same boundless hostility. On the happier if terribly costly side, the epic story of the endurance and courage and efficiency of the fighting forces, the immense scale of the effort of supply—how many people remember that for a long time the Soviet production of aeroplanes was half as large again as that of Germany?—and the successful large-scale transfer of industries from the overrun areas to points far away to the East, are well known; but these are stories that should be told again and again and again, so that Socialists shall know how magnificently a Socialist state and people work and fight, so that enemies may know and hesitate, and so that all may understand how very very clearly and strongly people who have so suffered and endured must and do hate war and cherish peace.

One could not demand that a history published in 1950, and involving probably (even on a background of great knowledge) two years of research and hard work, should carry the story beyond the end of hostilities in 1945; but the reader is prompted to enquire hungrily, when, and in what circumstances, shall we have the opportunity to read Mr. Rothstein's story of 1945-1950? For the moment, we must be content, and can be grateful, to read an 'Epilogue' of five pages of restrained but nevertheless vigorous writing whose story can make men proud to be alive today, to be in the working-class movement, and to know what a Socialist country does—and, far more important, can make them determined to work towards similar victories in Britain, so that we may show our cousins and comrades everywhere that we can build as well as they. This Epilogue should be read again and again, at intervals, like other good writings. Let it remind us every time: Here is a Socialist state, where common and collective ownership has brought a country in a short generation into the front rank of industrial powers. Here are millions of peasants collectively and abundantly enriching themselves and their fellow workers. Here is endless argument, discussion, criticism, self-criticism, improving the work and the life of all of us. Here are individual initiative and emulation, with no spur of private profit-seeking, helping to satisfy the even more ambitious needs of the community. Here is the tomb of racial, political, social, and economic inequality. Here grow health, and culture, and science, and happiness. Here is not perfection, but faster improvement than ever before. Here is an end of class conflicts. Here is life, vigour, democracy. Here is peace. Here is the future—and it works.

D. N. PRITT.

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THE ENGINE IS OMITTED

Economics of Everyday Life. By Gertrude Williams. (248 pp. A Pelican Book, 1*s.* 6*d.*)

IF technical writers on the motor-car were forbidden to speak of the engine, mechanics might with reason complain that their books, however brilliant the descriptions they might give of the sheen and shape of the chassis, were insipid and useless. The books of those economists—and they are, I regret to say, the vast majority—who respect in deference to the elders of their academic tribe, the modern taboo against mention of the class struggle are no less insipid. Inevitably so; for it is the relationship between the capitalist class and the working class that makes capitalism what it is. Just as the engine gives the automobile its auto-mobility (self-movement), so the exploitation of Labour by Capital gives capitalism its special characteristic. Economics that neglects to study the conflict of classes is as empty as a study of vehicles that neglects to study the motive power by which they are propelled.

Mrs. Williams' book tells you all about the chasssis and nothing about the engine and although it is one of the best elementary books on the 'chassis', sensible, simple and well-intentioned, it is really of rather little use to the Labour Movement. It sets out to explain 'the economic issues which directly affect day-to-day life in this country, including the rise and fall of prices, the Dollar Gap, international trade and the wages question'. It does not, however, explain the economic roots of poverty and war which today so closely touch the day-to-day life of the British people. Because of these omissions it leaves more illusions than it gives aids to knowledge. The student who reads trustingly will go away believing that capitalism needs only to be controlled by wisely operated Government controls and a reasonably decent life will be assured to the peoples of the world. As this is far from being so, this book, regretfully, cannot be commended.

J.E.

SHORTER NOTICE

Championship Chess. By M. M. Botvinnik. (280 pp. MacGibbon and Kee, 12*s.* 6*d.*)

THIS is not a selection of Botvinnik's own games, nor is it, as described on the cover, the 'World Champion's first book'. It is his first book to be published in English. Most of the great world champions of chess have described their own best games and given an insight into the art and science of chess unobtainable by lesser mortals. Botvinnik is no exception but his book on his own best games is not yet translated. This book, however, has a wider interest because he analyses all the games in the great match-tournament of the six leading Soviet players, held in 1941 for the title of Absolute Champion of the U.S.S.R., in which each competitor played a small match of four games with each of the others. Botvinnik won and he gives impartial, critical and profound comments on his own play as well as on that of the others.

C.P.D.

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an English reader puts it, is to be seen in the letters I am getting about our development fund. So many people (mostly Scots!) write with new ideas and suggestions. I haven't room to touch on more than one or two. But note these: 'The great enthusiasm with which I read L.M. makes me realise that I should do something more than "enthuse"' (a London reader, with a donation). 'I hid this £1 from myself during my summer holidays, for our "super" L.M.' (From Glasgow.) 'I've been off work sick for three weeks. The doctor did the physical healing, but it took Palme Dutt to attend to the mental side. His *Truth and the War* was a great tonic'. (A Stirlingshire reader, enclosing a £1 note.) 'Your Socialist Sailor has always intrigued us. How about challenging other Services? or one trade challenging another—a snowball to end all cold wars!' (A Scottish railwayman.) 'I see "Socialist Airman" has rescued Taunton, one of my 1s. a month stand-ins. Well, I can stand-in for Totnes instead, and from my knowledge of Totnes it ought to be jolly soon rescued'. (From Bath.) 'Socialist Airman' who sent 1s. to stand-in for Inverness will find his patronage short-lived; for a Scottish reader 'frae that airt' promptly swooped in with 5s to put Inverness in the steady money for five months to come, as will be seen in our next issue. Other readers have decided that 'large cities should be challenged district by district. For example, we will take on Edinburgh Central and Edinburgh East. Now what about Leigh, West, North and South Edinburgh? not to mention such far-flung suburbs as Joppa, Newhaven, Barnton, etc.?' What about them, indeed? And certain cities, large and small, which still pine unrescued from the Stand-in Group? I won't name them, but there they are, down below, in black and white. Although July is a holiday month, it shows a total of

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